

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BUDAPE 00926 01 OF 02 221459Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-07
DHA-02 IO-13 CU-02 IGA-02 AID-05 TRSE-00 /083 W
-----221518Z 039886 /41

R 221238Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8136
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
USMISSION NATO
USIA WASHDC
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUDAPEST 0926

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, SHUM, HU, UR
SUBJECT: GOH CONCERN ABOUT TREND IN U.S. RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPE

REF: BUDAPEST 0897

1. SUMMARY: A SERIES OF RECENT EVENTS PROVIDES EVIDENCE THAT GOH IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY COCERNED ABOUT FUTURE OF DETENTE IN LIGHT OF HEAVY STRESS LAID BY THE PRESIDENT, SECRETARY VANCE, AND OTHERS ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE. PRESUMABLY THIS CONCERN STEMS FROM HUNGARIAN ASSESSMENT OF SOVIET REACTIONS TO U.S. STANCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE AND A FEAR THAT MOSCOW'S REACTION MAY SPARK A TURNDOWN IN RELATIONS WITH THE WEST.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BUDAPE 00926 01 OF 02 221459Z

THUS, A NEW NOTE OF CAUTION HAS CREPT INTO HUNGARIAN APPROACH TO U.S. FOREIGN POLICY IN GENERAL AND TO HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE IN PARTICULAR. SIGNS OF THIS ARE ALSO BECOMING DISCERNIBLE IN THE BILATERAL CONTEXT. END SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING ARE THE PIECES OF THE PUZZLE WHICH TEND TO LEAD US TO ABOVE CONCLUSIONS:

A) ON MARCH 7 CHARGE CALLED ON AMBASSADOR BARTHA, DIRECTOR OF FOREIGN OFFICE DEPARTMENT V, TO SET A DATE FOR RENEWAL OF DIALOGUE ON CSCE MATTERS WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER NAGY. BARTHA SAID THAT WEEK OF MARCH 14-18 WAS NOT SUITABLE BECAUSE NAGY WOULD BE OCCUPIED AND HE (BARTHA) WOULD BE ON LEAVE. EARLY WEEK OF MARCH 21 WOULD BE BETTER. HE WOULD CALL LATER IN WEEK TO PROPOSE DATES CONVENIENT TO NAGY AND EMBASSY COULD TAKE ITS PICK. BARTHA DID NOT CALL THAT WEEK BUT RATHER ON TUESDAY, MARCH 15, TO SUGGEST THAT MARCH 31 WOULD BE DATE MOST SUITABLE TO HUNGARIAN SIDE. WE ARE STRUCK BY FACT THAT BARTHA'S RESPONSE SEEMS TO HAVE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT SECRETARY VANCE'S VISIT TO SOVIET UNION BEGINNING MARCH 28.

B) GOH FAILURE TO MAKE NOTIFICATION OF JOINT HUNGARIN-SOVIET EXERCISES IN LATE FEBRUARY WHICH BROKE PATTERN OF ITS EARLIER PROVISION OF "VOLUNTARY" NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS IN APRIL AND OCTOBER 1976 -- ONLY SUCH NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS UNDER 25,000 TROOPS BY ANY WARSAW PACT MEMBER.

C) THERE HAS BEEN A NEW AND MORE CRITICAL UPSURGE OF CRITICISM VIS-A-VIS THE U.S. RECENTLY IN COMMENTARY OF HUNGARIAN MEDIA WITH REGARD TO U.S. FOREIGN POLICY (E.G. RHODESIA, HUMAN RIGHTS), ONLY RECENTLY (BUDAPEST 0897) TEMPERED BY MODEST PRAISE OF PRESIDENT'S UN SPEECH IN HSWP OFFICIAL ORGAN NEPSZABADSAG.

D) A REQUEST BY CHARGE TO CALL ON AMBASSADOR RONAI, NEW DIRECTOR OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE, HAS NOT BEEN ACTED UPON. WHEN EMBASSY PURSUED THIS REQUEST AFTER A CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BUDAPE 00926 01 OF 02 221459Z

LAPSE OF A REASONABLE INTERVAL, IT WAS INFORMED THAT RONAI "IS TRAVELING".

E) EMBASSY HAS BEEN INFORMED THAT IN FIVE OF ITS SEVEN OUTSTANDING DIVIDED FMAILY PROBLEM CASES GOH HAS AGAIN REJECTED REQUESTS FOR EMIGRATION, DECISIONS STANDING IN SHARP CONTRAST TO UP-BEAT, POSITIVE STATEMENTS MADE BY FOREIGN OFFICE OFFICIALS TO POLITICAL OFFICER ON TWO OCCASIONS EARLIER THIS YEAR. MFA CONSULAR DEPARTMENT ALSO REPLIED SOMEWHAT RIGOROUSLY TO CONSUL'S MOST RECENT DIVIDED FAMILY REPRESENTATION (BUDAPEST 0722), IN CONTRAST TO THAT DEPARTMENT'S GENERALLY COURTEOUS AND SYMPATHETIC DEMEANOR IN PAST.

F) ALTHOUGH ASSURED SEVERAL WEEKS AGO BY CULTURAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE (KKI) THAT DRAFT PROGRAM UNDER CULTURAL/ SCIENTIFIC AGREEMENT WOULD BE READY IN A FEW DAYS, THERE HAS BEEN AN INORDINATE DELAY IN HANDING IT OVER TO EMBASSY. KKI FINALLY CALLED MARCH 21 TO SAY DOCUMENT WOULD BE TURNED OVER TO EMBASSY MARCH 22. IT APPEARS AS THOUGH GOH DECISION TO TURN OVER PROGRAM DOCUMENT TO EMBASSY IS DIRECT PRODUCT OF CHARGE'S CALL

ON DEPUTY FONMIN NAGY AND HIS EXPRESSION OF ASST SECRETARY
HARTMEN'S INTEREST IN SIGNING AGREEMENT DURING HIS VISIT
TO BUDAPEST APRIL 4-7 IF PROGRAM DOCUMENT COULD BE READIED.

G) IN CONTRAST TO NORMAL HUNGARIAN PRACTICE OF PAST,
BUT IN CONFORMITY WITH WHAT GROUP EXPERIENCED DURING ITS
VISIT TO USSR, VIKING GROUP, WHICH CAME TO BUDAPEST THIS
LAST WEEKEND, WAS INFORMED BY THE HUNGARIANS THAT THERE
WOULD BE NO PUBLICITY IN HUNGARY REGARDING ITS VISIT.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BUDAPE 00926 02 OF 02 221508Z

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 IO-13

DHA-02 CU-02 ACDA-07 IGA-02 AID-05 TRSE-00 /083 W

-----221516Z 040025 /41

R 221238Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8137

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO

USIA WASDC

DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUDAPEST 0926

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, SHUM, HU, UR

SUBJECT: GOH CONCERN ABOUT TRENDIN U.S. RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPE

3. IN A RECENT CONVERSATION AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE,
AMBASSADOR BARTHA ASKED "UNOFFICIALLY AND INFORMALLY"
WHETHER CHARGE HAD IMPRESSION, NOW THAT PRESIDENT CARTER
HAS BEEN IN OFFICE FOR TWO MONTHS, THAT THERE HAS BEEN A
CHANGE IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. QUESTION WAS ADVANCED IN

SEEMING INNOCENCE BUT WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF A GENERAL
DISCUSSION OF U.S.-HUNGARIAN DIALOGUE ON CSCE MATTERS.
UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES, IT WAS DIFFICULT NOT TO DRAW
CONCLUSION THAT WHAT PROMPTED BARTHA'S QUESTION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BUDAPE 00926 02 OF 02 221508Z

WAS CONCERN RE STRESS LAID BY U.S. LEADERS ON HUMAN RIGHTS
ISSUE. IN THAT SAME CONVERSATION BARTHA ALSO ATTEMPTED
TO BACK AWAY FROM EARLIER STATEMENTS MADE BY OFFICIALS
OF AMERICAN SECTION THAT GOH HOPES MOVE AHEAD MORE
RAPIDLY ON DIVIDED FAMILY QUESTIONS AND SEEKS POSITIVE
SOLUTION IN AS MANY CASES AS POSSIBLE.

4. AS DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, HUNGARIANS, ALONG WITH POLES,
HAVE IN MANY RESPECTS BEEN OUT IN FRONT OF OTHER EE
COUNTRIES IN THEIR EFFORTS TO IMPLEMENT HELSINKI
FINAL ACT. WE BELIEVE THAT, WITH CHARACTERISTIC CAUTION,
HUNGARIANS ARE CONCERNED ABOUT PROTECTING THEMSELVES IN
LIGHT OF THEIR FORWARD POSITION ON CSCE MATTERS AND ARE
WORRIED RE POSSIBILITY OF SHARP DOWN-TURN IN SOVIET-
AMERICAN RELATIONS STEMMING FROM SOVIET RESENTMENT OF
U.S. ATTITUDE ON HUMAN RIGHTS. FOR THE MOMENT, IT
IS DIFFICULT FOR US TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE NEW CAUTION
EVIDENT IS RESULT OF GOH'S READING OF SMOKE SIGNALS FROM
MOSCOW, OR WHETHER IT STEMS FROM DIRECT INSTRUCTIONS
FROM MOSCOW TO "COOL IT". PROBABLY THE NEW CAUTION IN
GOH ATTITUDE STEMS FROM DECISIONS TAKEN AT SOFIA CONFERENCE
(MARCH 2-3) WHICH WAS APPARENTLY CALLED TO COORDINATE
FURTHER WARSAW PACT EFFORTS TO DEFEND AGAINST POTENTIALLY
DISRUPTIVE INFLUENCE OF WESTERN POLICIES IN EASTERN EUROPE.
IN ANY CASE, IT APPEARS THAT HUNGARIANS ARE PULLING IN
THEIR SAILS UNTIL THEY SEE CLEARLY WHAT COMES OUT OF
SECRETARY VANCE'S VISIT TO MOSCOW.
MUDD

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: HUMAN RIGHTS, DETENTE, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 22-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BUDAPE00926
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770098-0075
Format: TEL
From: BUDAPEST
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770337/aaaabfht.tel
Line Count: 208
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: b5f834b4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 BUDAPEST 897
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3039711
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: GOH CONCERN ABOUT TREND IN U.S. RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPE
TAGS: PFOR, SHUM, HU, UR, US, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/b5f834b4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009